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Marxian Economics

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Liberated Mozambique

RENÉ LEFORT

Struggle for South Africa

HUMPHREY GLASS

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Most of our friends in the New York area, and probably many elsewhere, know by now that the new Director of Monthly Review Press, taking Harry Braverman's place, is Jules Geller. Jules and Harry were long-time associates, first in the trade union and political labor movements, then as editors and publishers of *The American Socialist* (an independent socialist journal which appeared for some six years in the 1950s, during which period MR and AS cooperated on several projects), and finally at Grove Press where Harry was Vice President and Business Manager and Jules Vice President and Education Director. At about the time Harry moved to MR Press, Jules became Director of Educational Media at Random House where he remained until a few months ago. We think that we and everyone else who considers MR Press to be a valuable asset to the American and international socialist movements are very fortunate indeed to have Jules join us as Director of the Press. He is in every way a qualified and worthy successor to Harry Braverman. As far as we are concerned, no stronger endorsement would be possible.

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

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MARXIAN ECONOMICS

By Paul M. Sweezy

Marxian economics constitutes both a continuation of and a sharp break with classical English political economy (Adam Smith and David Ricardo). The labor theory of value, according to which commodities tend to exchange in proportion to their respective embodied socially necessary labor times, is common to both schools. But Marx, unlike the classics, was primarily interested not in quantitative exchange ratios but in the real social relations which underlie and are masked by these market phenomena. Here, as in all his theoretical work, Marx was concerned to penetrate beneath the surface appearance of things and lay bare for analysis the hidden essence. It was in this respect that he broke with his predecessors and made some of his most original and profound contributions to social science.

Commodities are products of human labor which are intended for sale rather than the direct use of the producer. By

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selling commodities the producer acquires money with which he in turn buys other products for the satisfaction of his needs (Marx represents this circuit by the symbols C-M-C). The initial C and the final C are equal in exchange value (they embody equal amounts of labor) but different in use value to the producer. It is this difference in use values which provides the rationale of the operation. In a society in which all products are commodities and subject to exchange according to the C-M-C formula, producers work independently of each other and establish relations only through the market. Their personal relations quite literally become reified as relations between things. People living in these conditions see society not as a human creation subject to human control but as a "second nature" (Lukacs) with its own laws and compulsions to which human beings are necessarily subservient. This is the basis of Marx's famous doctrine of commodity fetishism which has no counterpart in bourgeois economics. It is the prototypical example of what may be called the interpenetration of economics and sociology which permeates the entire corpus of Marxian social science. Marx's concepts are at once quantifiable variables and bearers of living, changing, historically specific and often contradictory social relations. It follows that Marxian economics is not an exact or predictive science but a framework for understanding and transforming an infinitely complex social reality.

What distinguishes capitalism from commodity production in general is that under capitalism labor power (not labor itself but the capacity to perform labor) is a commodity, bought by capitalists and sold by workers. The capitalist starts not with a product but with money. He buys commodities (means of production and labor power), combines them in a process of production, and sells the product on the market. He thus begins with money and ends with money (M-C-M). If the two quantities were the same, the operation would be pointless since money is qualitatively homogeneous. It is therefore of the very essence of capitalism that the amount of money at the end (M') should be greater than the amount of money at the beginning: $M' - M = \Delta M$. If everything—means of production, labor power, and product—is sold at its value, ΔM repre-

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sents not only more money but also more value (*Mehrwert*) or surplus value. Where does this surplus value come from?

The answer lies in the distinction between labor, the value-creating activity of human beings, and labor power, the capacity to perform labor which under capitalism is bought and sold as a commodity. Like all other commodities, labor power has a value determined by the quantity of socially necessary labor required for its production, which means the quantity required for the production (and reproduction) of the laborer himself, or in other words for the production of the historically-determined means of subsistence of the laborer and his family. Let us suppose that in five hours the worker creates value equal to that of a day's means of subsistence. But the capitalist does not buy five hours of labor, he buys the laborer for a day which is by no means limited to five hours. If we suppose that the working day is ten hours, then in the first five hours the worker creates the value of his labor power (paid to him as his wage), and in the second five hours he creates surplus value to the same amount which, however, belongs to the capitalist by virtue of his command over the means of production. Marx called these respectively necessary and surplus labor. Presupposed is that the worker owns no means of production and is forced to sell his labor power on pain of starvation. Presupposed also is a legal system and a state apparatus to enforce it which operate to protect the capitalists' ownership and control over the means of production and to prevent the workers, either individually or collectively, from expropriating the capitalists. "Capital" is thus seen to be not only money and means of production but also a set of social relations which divides society into classes and guarantees the subordination of workers to capitalists. The process of creating a propertyless proletariat on the one hand and the instruments of capitalist class rule on the other constitutes the prehistory of capitalism.

The circulation form M-C-M' refers to a single period, say a year. At the start of the next period the capitalist has more money than he did the year before. What will he do with it? Basically, according to Marx, he will add it to his capital, i.e., he will accumulate it. And the next year he will have still more money which again he will accumulate, and so

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on *ad infinitum*. There are two complementary reasons for this. First, because the status and power of the capitalist depend on the magnitude of his capital; and second, because every capitalist must keep improving and expanding his capital in order to avoid being forced out of business by more efficient competitors. For the individual capitalist, in Marx's words, the watchword is "Accumulate, accumulate! That is Moses and the prophets!" And for capitalism as a whole this means that it is inherently and necessarily an expanding system which must ultimately, if it is not replaced sooner, come into fatal conflict with its natural environment.

In accordance with what was said above, the value of any commodity divides into three parts: the value of the used-up means of production (called by Marx constant capital and symbolized by c), the value produced by necessary labor (variable capital, v), and the value produced by surplus labor (surplus value, s). Thus value = c + v + s. Three ratios involving these components of value are central to Marx's economic analysis: the rate of surplus value (s/v), the rate of profit (s/(c + v)), and the organic composition of capital (c/v). If we designate these respectively by s', p, and o, they are related to each other by the formula $p = s'/(1 + o)$ which tells us that the rate of profit rises with an increase in the rate of surplus value and falls with an increase in the organic composition of capital. Much of Marx's analysis of the past history and present course of capitalism revolves around this formula. He believed that in the long run there is a strong *tendency* for the organic composition of capital to rise relatively more rapidly than the rate of surplus value, hence for the rate of profit to fall. This "law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit" has been the subject of much discussion and debate among Marx's followers.

Nearly half of Volume 1 of *Capital,* the only part of his economic opus which Marx completed and himself prepared for the printer, is devoted to the rate of surplus value and its variations in the course of capitalism's history. This is altogether appropriate since the rate of surplus value is the primary locus of the class struggle under capitalism, and the underlying theme of all Marx's theoretical and historical work is class struggle.

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There are two ways in which the rate of surplus value can be altered—either through a change in the length of the working day or through a change in the proportions in which the working day is divided between necessary and surplus labor. The first way directly involves class struggle, as capitalists have sought throughout the history of capitalism to prolong the working day to the maximum extent possible, while workers have fought to limit the working day and thus to increase the amount of time they can call their own. The second way is more complicated. It also directly involves class struggle insofar as workers have fought to raise their living standards and thus to increase the value of their labor power. But the main initiative in this respect has come from the capitalist side, with capitalists continuously attempting through reorganizing the labor process and introducing new technologies to increase the productivity of labor and hence to enable the worker to produce the means of subsistence in less time, leaving more time for the production of surplus value. In analyzing these phenomena Marx traced the development of the labor process from simple cooperation through "manufacture" (with its detail division of labor) to "modern industry" (in which workers become appendages of machines increasingly replaceable by various kinds of automata).

So far we have spoken only of *production* of value and surplus value. Equally important to the capitalist is the transformation of produced value into its money form, in Marx's terminology the problem of *realization*. In an unplanned, anarchic system like capitalism there is no *a priori* reason to expect production to be even approximately proportioned to demand. Disproportions can occur because of wrong anticipations, and also because of systemic factors. The most significant of the latter, discussed only fragmentarily by Marx, is for society's power of production to grow, under the impact of accumulation, relatively much more rapidly than its effective power of consumption, constrained alike by the always restricted wages of the workers and by the passion of capitalists to accumulate rather than consume. This strand of Marx's thought has given rise to theories of "overaccumulation" and/or "underconsumption" which have been espoused by some of his follow-

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ers and rejected by others. In any case there is no doubt that the contradictions of the system, which all Marxists believe will in the long run make necessary its overthrow and replacement by a more rational and humane social order, originate in the realms of both production and realization.

Though he originally intended to proceed from the analysis of capitalism as a relatively abstract mode of production to capitalism as a dominant global social formation, Marx did not live to carry out this plan. The completion of his theoretical system was left to his followers and is still in the process of being accomplished. Lenin's theory of imperialism was a long step forward, focusing attention on the division of the world into an industrialized center consisting of a few rich capitalist countries and an underdeveloped periphery of exploited colonies and dependencies. This division took place along with, and in large part as a result of, the transition of capitalism from its competitive to its monopoly stage. It resulted in new class alignments and alliances, and new forms of international and class conflict within both the center and the periphery and between the center and the periphery. What had been the decisive conflict at an earlier stage of capitalist development, that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the advanced countries, has been to a great extent and at least for a considerable historical period, displaced to the center-periphery arena where the crucial revolutionary struggles of the last half of the twentieth century are being fought out. Concomitantly, and logically, the locus of creative Marxist thought, in economics as in other fields, is shifting from the center to the periphery.

Every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail.

—Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886

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THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

BY HUMPHREY GLASS

On June 16, 1976, South African police fired into a crowd of African school children demonstrating against the mandatory use of the Afrikaans language, a language spoken by less than five million people in the entire world. Since then, South Africa has been in a state of turmoil. School children have burned down their classrooms, workers have stormed their factories, young men have thrown gasoline bombs into fashionable shops, and tens of thousands of blacks have left their jobs and taken to the streets. The apartheid regime has responded with force, killing nearly 400 blacks, imprisoning several thousand others, banning public gatherings, and scrapping most civil liberties. Only recently has the government acknowledged that force alone is not enough to put down the unrest; it has reluctantly launched a number of minor reforms and a global diplomatic offensive to shore up its position internationally.

To understand the rebellion in South Africa's major in-

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dustrial centers in 1976, one must challenge the misconception held in some quarters that capitalism and racism are incompatible. The absolute economic cleavage that exists between the races in South Africa was demonstrated in a national survey of 12,000 families in 1970. The average monthly household income was found to be $600 for whites, $230 for Indians, $140 for Coloureds (persons of racially mixed origin), and $50 for Africans. The African figure of $50 breaks down to $30 in the rural areas and $97 in the urban areas.[1]* The class divide is clearly a great race divide. The widest pay gap in 1970 (and undoubtedly even in 1976) was among mineworkers; whites earned 20 times more than Africans. The narrowest gap was in the manufacturing industry, where whites earned six times more than Africans.[2]

The government's politically and racially repressive laws are not the result of an irrational hatred of blacks, as argued by some liberals in South Africa. The laws are a systematic means of increasing the exploitation of blacks by local and international capital and of channeling black discontent into jail or into meaningless tribal warfare or tribal governments.

During the last 28 years, the white population has entrenched itself by enacting a succession of increasingly far-reaching laws. Martial law is, in effect, the common law of the land. The Afrikaner Volk—with their English-speaking companions—are in a state of war. Freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, and freedom of speech are restricted. Political activity is limited by decree. Only capital is free, free to move in and out of the country, to nestle anywhere, to develop factories, to openly discuss its affairs. Only capital is consulted for the major political decisions. Because of the inherent antagonisms of capitalism, capital itself must be kept somewhat in check. But this does not lessen its supreme rule; rather, it strengthens it. In this manner order is preserved in a lawless society, an order which maintains capital and the capitalist antagonisms that ever threaten to shake the apartheid edifice.

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* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

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Causes of the Rebellion

The central political question is not when revolutionary change will occur, but why revolutionary change has not yet resulted. On the one hand, the functions of the police, the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), and the Select Parliamentary Commission on Internal Affairs are obviously paramount in quashing protest. But police action is not enough. The apartheid regime's social structures have penetrated into the population's consciousness. The Bantustan policy of separate homelands for the different African cultural groups encourages the consciousness of the black working class to become a political and cultural chameleon. The class contradictions of the society are often expressed in terms of the unique historical and cultural legacy of each African ethnic group instead of in universal terms of the oppressed. The question remains: After more than two decades of Bantu education, repressive legislation, police terrorism, and industrial exploitation, why should Africans now fight back in anger? What conditions precipitated the rebellion on June 16 in Soweto?

In the months following the initial outbreak of protest, numerous reasons have been advanced as to why the rebellion occurred. I shall focus my attention on six of the major perspectives and the causes they pinpoint. They are as follows:

(1) Outside agitators and other "communist" elements.

(2) A lack of communication between races and the absence of proper channels to express legitimate complaints.

(3) The revolution of rising expectations among the young urbanized and Westernized blacks.

(4) The black consciousness movement.

(5) The denial of political, economic, and social opportunities to urban blacks.

(6) The rapid change of the political and economic environment of South and Southern Africa during the 1970s.

Outside Agitators and "Communist" Infiltrators

The agitator theory has become the official explanation for the rebellion: Connie P. Mulder, Minister of the Interior, attributes the rebellion to the "neo-imperialist communist threat" in Africa. John Vorster, the Prime Minister, has said that

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the unrest is neither critical nor grave. "At the utmost it can be said that it is serious," he said in September. "As international tension builds up outside, so our enemies will see to it that the internal tensions rise. This is precisely what they are doing at the moment." The logic of this position has led to the arrest of "key" individuals (more than 1,000 by July 30, 1976). However, it takes more than police action and midnight raids to halt the action of a social force, and not just its real or imagined leaders. The political climate is such that as fast as leaders are locked up or shot, new leaders emerge. The very failure of the police to contain the rebellion indicates that the causes of the uprisings do not lie with a few thousand individuals.

The Alleged Communication Gap

The communication gap theory implies that the fundamental tensions in a society are created by a lack of knowledge and understanding. Therefore, when a strike, riot, or rebellion occurs, its causes are sought in the misperceptions that result from a failure of communication between the antagonistic parties. Above all else, the political leaders of South Africa, schooled in the thoughts and ideals of the late Prime Minister H. J. Verwoerd, the grand architect of apartheid, understand the role of black education in perpetuating the apartheid edifice. In an address to the Senate in 1953, Verwoerd, then Minister of Education, outlined the goals of Bantu Education:

> A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community. . . . The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him. . . . There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . . For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. The Bantu must not be taught in a school system which draws him away from his own community and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.[3]

The discrepancy between the expenditures for black and

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white education ensure that these educational goals are achieved. In 1971-1972 about $540 million and $240 million were spent on educating whites and blacks respectively. On a per capita basis, each white child has 20 times the amount of money spent on his/her education that an African child has. The ratio of per capita expenditures for white and Indian (4 to 1) and white and Coloured (5 to 1) is similarly skewed.[4]

Official education policy encourages large numbers of children to drop out after minimal standards of literacy have been attained. The higher levels of technical skill and know-how needed by an advancing industrial society are supplied by the better-educated whites. In 1973, of the nation's 105,671 university students, 90,201 were white. Black students break down to 7,348 Africans, 5,017 Indians, and 3,105 Coloureds.[5] Under apartheid, education is the means of perpetuating class differences along race lines. There is no communication gap here.

The Revolution of Rising Expectations

This sociological theory is applied to the South African situation as follows:

> Most of the young blacks in the townships are city-born and -bred. They no longer come from mud huts. Their model is the white Western world, the white city life.
>
> Their aspirations are no different [from] white teen-age aspirations. They want smart clothes, a car, a good job, a hi-fi set, records.
>
> They despise their parents for doing dead-end jobs such as washing clothes and gardening, or being messengers. They have high aspirations, even if they are not educated.[6]

This theory ignores several important considerations. White and black urbanization proceeded simultaneously. Blacks have been in the industrial centers for three generations, as long as most whites. Nevertheless, the myth that the cities are the "white man's creation" is officially fostered and reinforced. The role of the migrant labor system is to perpetuate—indeed, to create—large rural labor slums on the one hand, and urban wealth for whites along with concrete houses for the poor urban blacks on the other. The white cities (so-called, despite the fact that there is not one city that has a white majority) and

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"Western civilization," far from being independent of "mud huts" and African culture, are the very means, under the grand apartheid plan, of perpetuating an African culture which socializes Africans to accept their role in society.

In 1970, 1,750,000 African workers—59 percent of the African male work force—were migrants, only 400,000 of them from foreign countries. The control (by 1,000-odd labor bureaus and by the pass laws) of the movement of African labor is the crux of apartheid and of the capitalist discipline plan for black labor. The pass laws force every African to carry identification documents (pass books) which list place of work, residence, tribe, and tax payments. An African who was not born in an urban industrial area is permitted to be there only as long as he has a job. His employer is required to endorse his pass book monthly. In this manner, the pass indicates to the police and to the capitalists exactly where each particular unit of labor should or should not be. This system has become a weapon that is used against African political organizations to deny freedom of movement and freedom to organize. In 1970, there were no fewer than 621,400 arrests (1,700 a day) for pass law contraventions.[7]

Black Consciousness

Kruger rejected suggestions that the riots were in opposition to apartheid. He said that they were similar to students' riots elsewhere—"a romantic thing"—inspired by the black-consciousness movement.[8]

The year 1968 brought the birth of the all-black South African Student Organisation (SASO), the black-consciousness movement. Paradoxically, black consciousness was at first welcomed by the South African government as an expression of black nationalism, i.e., acceptance of the separation of races in homelands. But when it became clear that black consciousness meant black liberation, it was violently suppressed.

Today SASO and its sister organization, the Black People's Convention (BPC), are the major black-consciousness groups. The 1976 rebellion has shown the line of SASO/BPC to be essentially correct in promoting a cultural struggle. The school

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children's rebellion over the mandatory use of the apartheid language strikes to the core of black consciousness and cultural liberation.

But this is not to imply that SASO/BPC members organized the rebellion. Rather, I would argue that SASO and BPC are the only political movements in South Africa that could theoretically anticipate the cultural and educational aspirations embodied in the rebellion. Of all the existing political groups, SASO and BPC are the only ones that have directly confronted the urgency for cultural freedom within the struggle for national liberation. For the moment (unless imaginative reforms are implemented), it would appear that the material conditions are such that the future lies with this kind of formulation. However, if SASO and BPC are to become revolutionary forces, they must confront the need for industrial and guerrilla action and the difference between black liberation and socialist liberation.

Both the African National Congress (ANC), formed in 1912, and the Pan African Congress (PAC), formed in 1959, have also seen the struggle in South Africa as one of national liberation. However, much has happened since these groups functioned openly in South Africa. Both organizations have been banned for more than a decade and their members either imprisoned, murdered, or forced into exile abroad. Yet the government has blamed the rebellion on them. This is more because of the historical legacy of the group and the South African government's belief in agitators than because of their actual presence inside South Africa. Internally, on the other hand, SASO and BPC have a large presence, though no group can claim to be an organized force. The SASO/BPC position can be seen as an evolution of the uncompromising position of the PAC that led to its split from the ANC in 1959 and to its role in the Sharpeville rebellion in 1960. This new position confronts the cultural dimension of oppression; it is a specific response to the specific historical conditions of South Africa. The apartheid regime has separated out the working class into racial categories—ten African tribes, an Indian group, a Coloured group comprising a half dozen different categories, and two groups of whites (English-speaking and Afrikaans-

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speaking). It is important to sweep away these divisive apartheid structures, a latter-day manifestation of the British colonial policy of divide-and-rule, by uniting the oppressed.

Externally the ANC and PAC are more powerful than SASO/BPC, because they have been able to build international connections while operating outside of South Africa since the Sharpeville massacre. All groups are now attempting to train guerrillas in Mozambique, with varying degrees of success. The scale of the combined operation is still small. There is some formal cooperation between the PAC and SASO/BPC; the PAC allows its guerrilla training facilities to be used by SASO/BPC. But the differences between the PAC and the ANC are largely unbridgeable. The main cleavage is over the ANC's connections with the white South African Communist Party (SACP—also banned and in exile). The protagonists believe the ANC's ties with the SACP place the ANC less in contact with developments inside South Africa and more in contact with Moscow.

Internally the most powerful organized black forces are, ironically, the Bantustan governments, all of which have been denounced by the black groups just discussed. The Bantustan policy can work only to the extent that Africans are prepared to lead rural slums, economically dependent on eight million Africans now living in the "white" cities and on "white" farms. Some leaders are, but others have said they will not accept independence for their territories. They prefer to use the structures of apartheid to voice their complaints.

The Bantustans that do accept independence (the Transkei in October 1976, for instance) face the same future as politically independent, but economically dependent, Lesotho. In Lesotho, Chief Jonathan seized power with the help of the South Africans (after losing an election). Today, he runs a petty dictatorship backed by a parliamentary police force that ensures that Lesotho continues to function as a labor reserve for the gold mines. In 1973 Lesotho supplied the South African gold mines with more than 131,000 workers (its population is less than a million). The Transkei has an official population of 3.3 million, but 1.5 million of its so-called residents live permanently in the urban centers of South Africa proper.

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Their prime minister is Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, a Chief Jonathan-like leader who has refused to submit the independence issue to a referendum, locked up most of the members of the opposition party, and stated his intention to keep in effect the state of emergency declared there by the South African government in 1960. Matanzima and the other Bantustan leaders have the backing not only of the South African government but of international capital, which is busy building factories, banks, and housing projects in the Bantustans. The grand apartheid plan of independent Bantustans is primarily an economic and political solution to the rise of an industrial proletariat and the concomitant impoverishment of the peasantry; it ensures the continued existence of an available labor reserve.

It is easy to denounce the Bantustan leaders as puppets of the white government. Nevertheless, these leaders are a force to be reckoned with. The white government may yet be prepared to make new concessions to the Bantustans in order to check black consciousness and encourage African nationalism. The government has already indicated its willingness to "accommodate black nationalism [so] that it [does] not result in a confrontation with white nationalism."[9]

The Discontent of Urban Blacks

A one-man judicial commission of inquiry began its investigation (in early August) into the causes of the Soweto rebellion. It will, of course, concentrate on the instigators and the education system. However, what really needs investigation by such a commission is the whole vast and intricate problem of the place of the urban African in the political, economic and social life of the country. The future of these people—about 40 percent of the total African population of more than 15 million—is and will remain the basic and most compelling political issue in South African politics. And it is the one aspect of the race problem for which the government has thus far failed to produce a formula to satisfy even the least demanding of its opponents.[10]

This analysis, by René de Villiers, a prominent South African journalist and political commentator, correctly emphasizes the importance of facing the problems of the urban black. The crux of apartheid is indeed its urban policy rather than

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the more often cited Bantustan policy. However, a thoroughgoing analysis of the urban black's situation should not merely end with a "formula to satisfy" opponents of apartheid, but with the confrontation of the problem of Bantustans as a product of South African urban industrial centers. An analysis of the African population must include the Africans in the rural slums (60 percent of the total), which contain the vast pools of reserve labor used by the migrant labor system. According to the official figures for 1960 and 1970, South Africa has checked the growth of the urban black population, despite tremendous economic growth. How was this possible? By juggling the figures and placing the population of many urban African townships in the figures for the Bantustans, a technique designed to preserve the concept of white cities, on paper at least.

Ideologically, the National Party government has consistently refused to accept Africans as permanent members of the South African community, relegating them instead to the status of temporary sojourners, useful only for their toil. The government's stance is of course a product partly of the sociocultural milieu in which its ideology was spawned. The National Party inherited a shelf full of laws regulating the African's status in urban areas. A legal legacy, based on the needs of the mining industry, placed tight clamps on migration to the cities and provided powers for implementing total residential segregation. The 1922 Stallard Commission, appointed by the then Prime Minister Jan Smuts, was the political launching pad for more than 50 years of policy aimed at preventing the African from taking full part in the urban world. The Commission's report concluded that "the history of the races, especially having regard to South African history, shows that the commingling of black and white is undesirable. The Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."[11] In 1950, Premier D. F. Malan reiterated this point when he stated that apartheid must check "the harmful flow of natives from the native areas as much as possible without doing harm to the demands for labor in the European area."[12]

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Thus, from the outset African urbanization has been curtailed. However, the apartheid regime has had to bow to the dictates of capitalism and permit the formation of large urban pools of African labor. The government's planned townships are intended as a political solution to the disorganized slums of the working class. (In this sense, the townships are the ideal repressive solution to the socio-political problems of the slums of Manchester analyzed by Friedrich Engels in 1844. A by-product of the isolation and organization of the townships is the ease with which police can cordon them off and contain unrest.)

From the vantage point of the National Party, the administration of Bantu urbanization is as rational and systematic as the physical layout of the townships. To the African individual residing in the township, the system is one of denial, repression, and privation. The symbol of his poverty and deprivation—the township house—is the very quintessence of rationality, however, for the government. For the individual, it is his "matchbox" (a popular comment on the size). For the government, the house is a unit number in a numbered street reflecting the concretization of a system designed to implement stability in the inherently unstable capitalist system through the ubiquitous rule of law.

What would an investigation into the situation of the urban African that de Villiers advocates find? The apartheid system needs the planned black townships, but at the same time such an investigation would reveal that the official policy of re-tribalization (through the Bantustan policy and the use of migrant labor) will fail because the needs of capital for a larger and larger urban proletariat will have to be continually met. Consequently the apartheid regime has been unable to accomplish the ideological goal of pure white cities and rural labor reserves except in its juggled statistics. In the final analysis the role of the government—far from controlling capital—has been reduced to establishing and re-establishing stable social structures disrupted by capital's demands for more workers. In this crucial aspect, capital undermines apartheid, despite the political decrees which the regime introduces to contain capital. The migrant labor system undermines the African working

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class in the cities; the police enable a tenuous stability to be achieved. Capital is victorious; for the moment the good bourgeois (white) life is secured. However, as capitalism continues to expand, the demand for labor draws more and more Africans into cities—a large urban black proletariat looms on the political scene. Police cordons and midnight raids notwithstanding, the apartheid regime has to face again and again the unrest of the industrial population in both the cities and the Bantustans.

Political and Economic Changes in the 1970s

The political events of the 1970s have far more to do with the 1976 rebellion and its endurance than does the language issue. Of course, within the broader framework the Afrikaans language itself is another plank of apartheid. The language has been politicized, both as a vehicle to mobilize all Afrikaners against other groups and as a way to preserve Afrikaner political hegemony in South Africa. The move to spread Afrikaans was perceived as a political act by the government to increase its control over the black population.

What were the significant political and economic changes of the 1970s?

(1) The most dramatic change was the collapse of the Portuguese empire in 1974. With the triumph of FRELIMO in Mozambique and the final victory in 1976 of the MPLA in Angola, any hope of a racist, white, southern Africa strategy was smashed. Plans to resettle a total of 1.5 million Portuguese in the regions surrounding the Cabora Bassa and Cunene hydroelectric and irrigation projects in Mozambique and Angola had to be scrapped.

(2) More important for blacks inside South Africa were the strikes throughout the country between 1972 and 1974. In 1973 a general strike of 100,000 workers in Durban lasted three weeks and brought Africa's largest port to a standstill. The industrial unrest spread to the Witwatersrand mines. It was this wave of strikes before the Portuguese coup that indicated to the white bourgeoisie that the calm of the post-Sharpeville era had ended. South Africa's proletariat was on the move again.

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(3) In the 1970 elections, Vorster's National Party was challenged by the far right (the Herstigte Nasionale Party) in half of the country's parliamentary constituencies. (Members of this same party stormed Vorster's residence in September 1976 to protest his apparent willingness to accept majority rule in Rhodesia and limited reforms at home.) The challenge in the 1970 elections was contained—the new party did not win a single seat—but many hardliners within the National Party pressured the government to steer a strong rightward course. By 1974 the political climate had changed, thanks to the widespread strike activity. The liberal Progressive Party made a bid for more parliamentary power than its one seat. The party, formed in 1959 by discontents in the official opposition, the United Party, runs candidates in only 20-odd constituencies, those with the highest per capita incomes.

The 1974 election was held the day before the Portuguese coup. Thus the reformists (who won six seats) squeaked by before the impact of a liberated Mozambique and Angola could be felt inside South Africa. In two subsequent by-elections (one later in 1974 and the other in 1975) the Progressive Party picked up two more seats by defeating United Party candidates. After these victories, the United Party split again. The "left wing" eventually joined with the Progressive Party to form the Progressive-Reform Party, a party that sees the urgency of reform if capitalism is to be saved.

This party has power far beyond its dozen or so parliamentary seats. It represents the local English-speaking white capitalists, the professional elite of capitalism, and international capital. The party is also actively seeking the support of the Afrikaner businessman. For this reason alone, the party is worth watching. Just as important as its ties to the economic center are its ties to the English-language newspapers.

(4) The support of the English-language newspapers for the Progressive Party candidates in the 1974 election had much to do with their success. These newspapers see the urgency for reform and play an important role during the six months of the year that Parliament is not in session; in a sense they become the official opposition. The papers have been increasingly willing to open their pages to the discussion of important new political

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ideas because of the rise of the black proletariat and pressure for reform from both inside and outside of the country. In reassessing apartheid from a reformist position, the papers further stimulate debate—and pave the way for further black action. Thus even before June 1976, the idea of reform was already on the agenda.

(5) Sections of the population—both black and white—became increasingly preoccupied with the following political and economic issues during the 1970s:

(a) The need for black trade unions, if for no other reason than to curtail wildcat strikes.

(b) The need to increase black wages, if only to the Poverty Datum Line (a scientifically calculated subsistence level).

(c) The need to increase technical training for blacks.

(d) The need to scrap petty apartheid (separate entrances, lifts, park benches, etc.).

(e) The need to accept a permanent black urban population.

(f) The need to cooperate with black city councilors.

(g) The need to cooperate with Bantustan leaders, even if one disagrees with the concept of political independence for Bantustans.

(h) The need to think in terms of long-range reform.

(i) The need to accept the collapse of the Portuguese empire and to realize that South Africa is now on the front line.

(j) The need for negotiated solutions in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South West Africa (Namibia) in order to form an alliance with black moderates (even the government has come around to this point of view).

(k) The need to understand that the apartheid system itself has spawned the black-consciousness movement.

Another round of unrest has been on the agenda since the strikes of 1973 and the subsequent cries for reform. The fact that the 1976 rebellion was triggered by the compulsory use of Afrikaans, and that it has endured, indicates the qualitative shifts in political consciousness took place before the actual rebellion.

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The Government's Reform Program

The country has reached a watershed, but it does not mean that it will plunge over the falls. New alignments will have to be made within the next year or two, but these adjustments must not be made in an atmosphere of panic or crisis. What South Africa needs now is calm, cool and well-thought action.

The words are those of Dr. C. P. Mulder, Minister of Information, spoken at the beginning of September when he opened the Johannesburg Afrikaner Chamber of Commerce.

"Changes [are] coming in South Africa, and the question [is] not whether they should be made, but why they would be made," Senator J. P. van der Sput said in mid-September at the opening of the National Party Congress of the Free State.

These comments on the need for careful reform contrast with the remarks by Minister of Police J. Kruger on June 22, 1976. "My patience is at an end," he declared, because of the week-old disturbances. By July 30 Kruger was reported as saying: "Blacks must be taught that riots will get them nowhere." With thousands wounded and the death toll approaching 400, it is clear that the government has acted on this warning. On the other hand, the old intransigent attitude of the government has mellowed somewhat, if for no other reason than the realization that if things are to remain the same they must change.

The following reforms have all been initiated since June 1976, except for the first two, which surely have been in the planning stages since the aftermath of South Africa's disastrous military foray into Angola.

(1) "For the first time in the history of the South African Army, all three major population groups are on parade," commented General Magnus Malan, the new chief of the South African Defence Force at an unprecedented parade at South Africa's military headquarters in Pretoria at the end of July. Having white, African, and Coloured soldiers march together (albeit in segregated regiments) in South African battle dress is one way to preserve the apartheid regime. (In addition, half of South Africa's 32,000-strong police force is black.)

(2) The Suppression of Communism Act has been cosmetically remodeled into the Internal Security Act. The undermining of South Africa's law by ministerial decree remains.

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Individuals may be arrested on the hearsay of informers and imprisoned without recourse to any court of law.

(3) Ownership of houses and land in African townships is to be permitted for the first time. But the basic apartheid concept remains intact—that there is a white South Africa occupying 87 percent of the land, and a black South Africa (the Bantustans) occupying 13 percent of the land. Africans are still viewed as temporary workers in the white man's cities and are encouraged to take out citizenship in their homelands.

(4) A plan to formalize relations between the white South African parliament and the elected representatives of the Coloured and Indian population groups has been announced. This plan, which leaves out the Africans who supposedly have a clearly defined political future within the Bantustans, is an attempt to win the allegiance of the 2.5 million Coloureds and the 750,000 Indians and to weld them into a united front with the whites against the Africans. Such a bold scheme might have worked two or three decades earlier, but today important segments of both groups oppose cooperation with the whites. The spread of the 1976 rebellion to Cape Town, where the majority non-white group is the Coloureds, indicates that the latter are seeing their futures as blacks rather than as honorary whites.

(5) Afrikaans has been eliminated as a medium of instruction in school districts where the community opposes it. An element of choice has thus been re-introduced into Bantu education. This change serves, however, merely to underline the need for violence in South Africa if blacks are to be heard. The school children have won a victory that the Bantustan leaders, African urban councilors, and the African Teachers Association were unable to achieve despite protests over the last 18 months.

(6) Future changes envisioned include the elimination of petty apartheid measures no longer deemed necessary, the introduction of multi-racial sports at the international level, greater freedom and responsibilities for Africans within the Bantustans, and the extension of "the policy of multi-nationalism to its logical conclusion." In the wake of the Soweto uprising, the government has acknowledged that "the legitimate aspirations

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of the blacks [will] have to be met, without sacrificing white identity."

Despite the continuing rebellion, the police are sure to regain control. This is not to belittle the impact of the rebellion, which is redefining South Africa's political parameters. But what must not be overlooked is the fact that the military and economic power of the whites is still intact.

Will these reforms increase the resilience of the apartheid regime, or will they become the seeds of new discontent? From the reforms outlined it is clear that the government hopes to stabilize the society. It is also clear that no changes in the social structures are planned. This leaves the structural causes of the rebellion untouched, as it does the democratic demands of the rebels. Will the whites be willing to make further concessions to these demands? The answer to this question is tied up with the negotiations on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South West Africa (Namibia). The ascent to power of moderate black regimes there would secure South Africa's borders and free sections of its mobilized army for internal operations, and so enable the government to slow the pace of reform. On the other hand, if the forces of national liberation are victorious in Rhodesia and South West Africa—despite Henry Kissinger and the foot-dragging of the Organization of African Unity—the government will be forced to accelerate its reforms in an attempt to assuage the discontent that will lead inevitably to increased guerrilla activity.

With the whites losing their monopoly on political, economic, and military decisions in Southern Africa, the time has come for them to search out the "new alignments" mentioned by Mulder. The era when the granitelike stance of a Verwoerd was possible is over. The whites are no longer the sole initiators of events. South Africa is fast entering an era in which the struggle between moderate blacks and radical blacks will become more important than the conflict between whites and blacks. The struggle for South Africa, the key to all of Southern Africa and perhaps much more, has begun.

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LIBERATED MOZAMBIQUE

BY RENÉ LEFORT

The Party Stays on a War Footing

MAPUTO: "We were donkeys, the donkeys of the Portuguese. We had to carry them on our backs—them, their wives, their children, and their baggage all the way to Tete, Cachamba, or Zomba. They forced us to grow cotton and paid us only 150 escudos a sack. They took away our millet, our chickens, and our pigs. We had to give them everything—otherwise they would hurt us."

The political commissar, addressing the village in the shade of a eucalyptus tree, women and children on one side, men on the other, could not find words, in the presence of a "comrade from abroad," to fit the crimes of the former Portuguese colonizers. The district of Jeke, in Tete province, used to have such notoriously harsh living conditions that most of the men folk emigrated secretly to work in Rhodesia, only 70 kilometers away. Those who remained suffered so much from forced labor, crippling taxes, and the tyrannical military that "when the

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Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO] came and told us they were going to free Mozambique, we followed them."

FRELIMO first took up arms on September 25, 1964; the Portuguese authorities gradually lost control of the northern provinces—Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete and Zambezia. These "liberated" areas were where the Mozambican revolution was born and where it grew to maturity. (See map on page 39.)

The "head of production" asked me a lot of questions about French farmers' working conditions. He thought over my answers, then turned to the audience: "With the proceeds from the produce of our collective fields, we too will soon be able to afford a tractor." His remarks met with general approval.

The few observers authorized to visit former "liberated" areas are generally struck by the population's spirit of self-reliance and initiative: instead of waiting for their problems to be solved by some distant central authority, they are aware of their own capabilities and take it upon themselves to improve their daily life, slowly but surely, with the means at their disposal.

The armed struggle was calculated to dispel the inferiority complex felt by the majority of blacks. The priority of the community over the individual too, before it became a revolutionary virtue, was one of the conditions of survival under the yoke of a colonial army notorious for its brutality. Indeed, it was impossible to keep going without organizing village life, since other decision centers were many days' march away, and communication virtually impossible.

FRELIMO held this new mentality to be the key to the revolution they were gradually licking into shape. The collapse of colonialism occurred almost incidentally. The fall of the Caetano regime in Portugal on April 25, 1974, at a time when the front lines of the guerrilla forces were in operation along the Beira railroad more than 700 kilometers from their rear bases, soon called a halt to the fighting.

It took the wind out of FRELIMO's sails. But they refused to lay down their arms until, on September 7, 1974, the Lusaka agreements were signed: these spelled out the details of the transfer of power to the Front alone. In the liberated areas, with a population of about a million and less affected by colonialization, FRELIMO decided to carry on with the

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structures of "popular democratic power," which had stood the test of experience. Elsewhere, in the factories, the plantations, the civil service, and indeed everywhere Mozambicans lived and worked, the party despatched "action groups" to explain its ideology, tactics, and ambitions.

I went along to a school-room meeting held by the "cooperative" committee of Bairro de Zixaxa and chaired by a long-standing militant in the liberation struggle. Clearly most of its members were the "intellectuals" of this shanty town—a collection of split-bamboo huts. The inhabitants are too poor to afford wood planks and corrugated iron.

Interruptions in the supply of essential foodstuffs and speculation by local grocers (*cantineiros*) had led the action group, in accordance with party policy, to campaign for setting up a cooperative for purchasing and mutual aid. Of the 4,000 families in the shanty town, 130 have contributed towards the initial capital. But the venture is a tricky one; it has no precedent in Mozambique, and the state has yet to give a clear definition of the role it intends to play in this sector. For instance, at what level and in what form will the aid and intervention of the authorities be requested? It will be no easy task to prevent swindlers from exploiting the cooperative to supply the black market, or to stop a managerial elite from taking over the whole show.

The committee decided to deal with these problems by ensuring that the running of the cooperative would always be "open to criticism from the masses." Furthermore, it would ask the state for financial aid to set up an organization, train staff, make available the results of experiments tried elsewhere, and create a buying center. It was clear to everyone that it would be out of the question for the state to step in directly at a local level. Whatever the field—education, health, culture or production—the populace is organizing itself and has begun to realize that it is capable of taking its destiny into its own hands and eliminating poverty.

FRELIMO is, on the other hand, keeping very close and strict control of political education, which is the chief responsibility of the action groups. All their meetings are the subject of reports carefully analyzed by party members, who in turn

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send back extremely precise directives. For it should be remembered that the action groups do not form the basic cells of the party; they will do so only when, after a succession of purges, crises, and routine clashes, they are sufficiently trusted by FRELIMO to deserve the title of militants, normally reserved for those who actually took part in the armed, underground struggle for independence. Newcomers have to prove themselves.

"At least we know where we're going with FRELIMO," I was told by a former militant who could not hide his disillusionment with the "erring ways" of certain other black revolutionary regimes. The clarity and coherence of FRELIMO's political line have cemented the party's unity as well as provided a driving force for its actions. After a series of party crises, that line emerged from an increasingly strong phenomenon of osmosis between the peasant population of the liberated areas and a group of intellectuals who received their political education while in the very process of taking part in the struggle for liberation. The governor of Tete province told me that the primary quality of a party member was "to serve the people, in other words to have the knack of experiencing their problems and thus to be able to solve them."

One wonders whether the similarities between the Chinese Revolution and the struggle for national liberation in Mozambique may not explain the similarities of analysis, strategy, method, and even vocabulary between the Chinese Communist Party and FRELIMO. In any case they have many points in common: A firm belief in the permanence of the class struggle, the role of contradictions as a driving force, the need for "salutary" crises "in order to progress," the importance attached to collective discussion and the type of development chosen. Above all, FRELIMO leaders became convinced from their experiences in the liberated areas that it was their duty to emancipate a vast human potential which had up to then been crushed by foreign domination and constricting traditions.

An impenetrable veil of mystery shrouds the activities of FRELIMO's policy-making machinery and its internal dissensions. But what filters out from party meetings at every level suggests that they are by no means a matter of pure form: there are extremely heated discussions, and outspokenness is

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de rigueur as long as no one questions the party line. FRELIMO leaders spend their time traveling up and down the country, and whenever a difficult problem crops up they are quick to acquaint themselves with it on the spot and to hammer out a decision.

No reform is carried out without prior local and regional consultation on a vast scale. But the final decision will always rest with a very small inner group. I was told that at every level, in structures, in options, and in crises, "policy is decided by headquarters."

Such exaggerated centralization has somewhat aggravated the bureaucratic tendencies inherited by officials from the colonial regime. Nonetheless, FRELIMO feels it is indispensable if it is to keep a firm grip on the country. The enemy has changed, but the party is still waging a war that demands just as much discipline, respect for hierarchy, and clearly defined structures as existed during the previous hostilities. Outside the framework of the party, no dissension is tolerated.

It was by keeping the party on a war footing that the leaders of FRELIMO managed to come through the difficult transitional period and get over the crisis of last December. A handful of illustrious army figures, fed up with ten years' solid fighting, and a few new recruits made a desperate bid to impose a breathing-space on the revolution. FRELIMO got wind of the plot but decided to let it go ahead: some deaths resulted, but the coup failed within hours, thanks to the loyalty of the vast majority of the army and the intervention of the inhabitants of Maputo. The party was thus able to demonstrate that the "reactionary forces had unmasked themselves." The instigators of the putsch were sent to "rehabilitation camps" for an indeterminate period.

Last December's attempt marked the trough of the wave. It took 15 months for a movement set in motion by guerrilla activity in the northern region to adjust to its new responsibilities—controlling the entire country and setting up a new state. The situation has now reached a point where FRELIMO leaders no longer rush to and fro sticking their fingers in dikes. Slowly but surely, they are wiping the remnants of the previous society

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off the map and launching the country into a period of out-and-out revolution.

This was brought home to me when I visited a Catholic mission in Maputo, originally opened in 1909. A nun, dressed in white, was getting her class to repeat in unison what she had written on the blackboard: "FRELIMO is the people's guide." A few doors away, past the looming white church, I met the mission's father superior, a black Mozambican of about 50, in the presence of local party representatives. His replies to my questions were obviously very guarded. Yes, he was having to move: the nationalization of private schools also included his premises which would be handed over to new teachers and social workers. No, he had no problems with the people. He was, however, running into "a few difficulties" with the authorities; for instance, everything belonging to the mission was affected by nationalization, so he no longer had a car to visit his parishioners.

"Are you able to carry out your religious activities without any hindrances?"

"Yes, for the time being."

In the central school and the 28 annexes dependent upon it, the mission used to provide schooling for some 5,000 pupils. It was also responsible for a training center for girls and a sanatorium. Throughout the Mozambique countryside, over 300 such missions had this two-fold educative and medical role. The Portuguese administration set up its headquarters in the villages, and relied on the missions to deal with the rest of the country.

"I'm afraid that the new authorities will simply identify us with the Church as it was before Vatican II, in other words arm-in-arm with colonialism," the father superior told me with a sigh. "They forget that we, too, have changed a lot." It is a fact that FRELIMO has accused the churches of being a state within a state, and is determined to neutralize them.

Just before independence, Mozambique President Samora Machel conducted an extraordinary session of speechmaking-cum-debate with the inhabitants of Maputo, who had squeezed for the occasion into Machava stadium. The president in-

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veighed against the churches, "whose brains are in Switzerland, America, or Rome, and whose bodies are in Mozambique," and against "these foreigners who do the Mozambican's thinking for him: why can't we Mozambicans do our thinking for ourselves?" When he announced that all educational institutions were being taken over by the state, he lambasted the health services as more "enslaved by the profit motive than any beer-hall." All private hospitals and clinics were nationalized. Private medical practice was forbidden. Lastly, as popular justice had no need of them, there would no longer be any professional lawyers. According to Article Seven of the Constitution, promulgated just after this important speech: "Land and natural resources located in the soil and sub-stratum . . . are the property of the state. The state shall decide upon the conditions under which they may be appropriated and exploited."

The new schools were taken by storm. Each room holds up to three different classes per day. As soon as a center to teach adults to read and write opened in one Maputo shanty town, there were immediately 1,000 to 2,000 candidates. Wherever one goes now, in public places, buses, the corridors of hotels and government buildings, one finds ordinary staff, waiters, errand boys and the like taking advantage of every scrap of spare time to study.

In factories, courses in reading and writing and in technical training are frequently attended by the majority of workers. In the countryside, every village one goes through has a hundred or so children and adults sitting on the ground in the shade of a tree, assiduously learning to read and write.

Only 80 doctors are left in the country. People queue for hours in front of their offices. There are now more blacks in the line than whites: in the old days they rarely could afford a visit.

To the majority of Portuguese, all these upheavals seem like the end of an epoch. In Limpopo, the poorest region of Mozambique, the action group summoned local Portuguese and asked them to participate in communal life by working on the collective farms and cleaning up the town. They refused, arguing that their houses were clean and that they had tractors to cultivate their own fields. Then a black Mozambican leapt

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up and demanded furiously: "When your governor came on a visit to our town did you ask us our opinion before getting us to give the whole place a thorough spring cleaning?"

Relations between Lisbon and Maputo have improved distinctly since the foreign ministers of the two countries met last June. Yet very few of the 150,000 Portuguese living in Mozambique before independence have become citizens of the new state. This means they have had to give up all the privileges which, with the encouragement of the Rhodesian and South African examples, had resulted in social segregation aggravated by a color bar. It used to be thought quite normal that a Portuguese never lined up for anything. Now, in the best schools, young Portuguese children have to squeeze over on their benches to make room for swarms of Mozambican kids.

Imported consumer goods are getting scarcer and scarcer. The Portuguese claim they are the victims of racial insults, particularly from young FRELIMO militants. The only aspect of the regime's puritan "new moral order" they pick on is the hostility towards "decadent Western values." And it is true that some action groups do take decisions which are simply ludicrous when they are not overtly xenophobic.

FRELIMO counters by saying that the new moral order is chiefly aimed at combating alcoholism, prostitution, and polygamy, and that it is a vital element in the ideological struggle against the Mozambican bourgeoisie. When the Portuguese are rounded up for minor crimes, they usually end up in rehabilitation camps, for it is FRELIMO's belief that "no man will ever realize his mistakes shut up in a cell."

The *coup de grâce* for the poor whites, most of whom had bound up their savings in property, was the nationalization of housing. The vast majority of Portuguese are in the process of leaving or are about to do so. In the grounds of luxurious villas overlooking the bay of Maputo, one can see black servants packing huge cases with their employers' furniture. Emigrants are ruthlessly searched at the airport. As each adult can take only a small sum out of the country, shops selling valuables such as watches or jewelry have been cleaned out. But the authorities have decided to check automobile exports by slapping a 90 percent duty on them.

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The Portuguese have worked themselves up into a hysteria about leaving, even though they realize they cannot hope to find elsewhere the standard of living they were used to in Mozambique. The Mozambican government has just authorized foreigners to transfer from 25 to 35 percent of their salaries abroad, and is renewing the contracts of those civil servants who wish to stay—for it realizes that there are considerable dangers in a large-scale brain drain. But it is by no means certain that more Portuguese would have stayed behind had these measures been taken earlier.

A Struggling Economy Led by the New Bourgeoisie

In a huge shed belonging to a company—which shall remain nameless—in the suburbs of Maputo, I got a fairly good idea of what working conditions must have been like in nineteenth-century Europe: dripping with sweat and dressed only in jute sacks with holes for the arms and legs, workers were shoving cashew nuts into rudimentary ovens, while elsewhere hundreds of women sorted basketful after basketful of the nuts. The Italian consortium that owns the factory laid off a quarter of the work force just after the fall of the Caetano regime in Portugal on April 25, 1974. This step, justified as part of a scheme to "modernize the factory," merely resulted in a production slump; and because it entailed currency transfers, ostensibly for the import of new machines, it disguised a flight of capital.

On March 19, 1975, the Minister for Trade and Industry took over control of the company and entrusted its management to an administrative committee of four members. All the executive staff returned to Europe. The new management had no choice but to familiarize itself with business and marketing techniques—90 percent of its production was exported.

To stem flagging productivity the party encouraged the constitution of a workers' committee, which had the effect of polarizing disgruntlement. Although the lowest monthly wage of 1,800 escudos was doubled, the workers wanted to get "all they could get—and straight away." The committee was then dissolved, while its members organized countless wildcat strikes aimed at pay increases and stirred up feeling against the "action

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groups," whom they accused of working hand in hand with the new management.

After an intense campaign of "political explanation," 28 "reactionaries" were arrested and sent to rehabilitation camps. Most of them were former members of Portuguese paramilitary organizations, or had collaborated with the political police of the previous regime, the PIDE. Since the purge, the company has been functioning more or less normally.

This sequence of events has been typical of most of the industrial and agricultural companies abandoned by the Portuguese or taken over by the state—except that the ending has not always been such a happy one. There was "rampant economic sabotage": exports were under-invoiced, imports (sometimes fictitious ones) over-invoiced; firms were closed down without so much as a day's notice; livestock, farm machinery, and even whole workshops were transferred to Rhodesia or South Africa; most employers were above all anxious to get their assets out of the country as quickly as possible, and did not care if they left their companies' affairs in total chaos. But their behavior alone cannot be held responsible for the production slump and collapse of productivity.

After Portugal's April 1974 revolution, most Mozambicans had no idea of what FRELIMO's actual policy was. The movement owed its tremendous popularity not only to its victory against Portuguese colonialism, but to the almost mythical certainty that once it was free Mozambique would be magically transformed into a new El Dorado where all forms of constraint would be unknown. Workers felt that arriving at the factory on time or toiling in the sugar-cane plantations carried overtones of colonialism. The action groups spared no effort to explain that there could be no increase in the standard of living unless productivity were improved. But on this point the members of such groups were sometimes in disagreement with the party.

Some Mozambicans wanted to cast a veil over their past activities, and thought the best way to do this was to play an active part in the groups. Those jockeying for the top jobs left vacant by the Portuguese were usually the first to join. Some of the groups, giving way to pressure from the rank and file,

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or else intoxicated with their new-found power, made almost impossible demands or sided with company managements. In an attempt to straighten out the situation the radio made daily broadcasts giving the names of those who had been purged in each factory or district, and explained why such a fate had befallen them.

During a long hard struggle, FRELIMO's enemies were gradually expelled from the action groups. As a foreign engineer put it to me: "When I talk about discipline I mean punishment. The action groups want to find a substitute for big-stick methods." In spite of a 30 percent drop in production and a 50 percent decrease in productivity in industry and on the plantations, the watchword of the last central committee was "large-scale organizational and political offensives on the production front."

When the Portuguese pulled out, all marketing and distribution networks virtually disappeared. The state would like to set up a mixed system of local cooperatives and regional centers for buying and selling. Industry used to prosper artificially within a protected economic zone, and produced mainly consumer goods for the white settlers. Now, after taking over abandoned factories and nationalizing the banking groups, the state controls more than 50 percent of business. This proportion of strength should make it easier to reorganize industry completely, obtain more efficient management, and combat what they call here "the vice of importation." But agriculture is still seen as the "basis for the development of Mozambique."

Each communal village will comprise about 200 families, party headquarters, a school, and a medical and social center. So the peasants will have to be persuaded to leave their ancestral lands and work on collective farms, with only a small allotment for themselves. FRELIMO wants to set the agrarian revolution in motion as quickly as possible. As the newspaper *Novicias* explains: "The peasant will get rid of his inferiority complex and his mythical world, and will learn the organization, technique, precision and discipline familiar to the worker. Conversely, the peasant will purify the predominant ideology, which the city worker has picked up from the corrupt influences of bourgeois society."

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FRELIMO is being careful not to constrict these reforms with a legal and technical straitjacket. Experimental production methods now in the pipeline are aimed at showing the people exactly where their own interest lies. But the grave shortage of executive staff and the teething troubles that affect any innovation are expected by those in charge of the economy to mean that the country will not get back to 1974 production levels for several years.

Time is running out: while FRELIMO desperately explains its aims and prepares the people for the sacrifices these will entail, the economic situation is steadily deteriorating. If things continue to get worse, a less radical current of opinion might emerge in the party, or else a proportion of the populace could even lose faith in the movement and leave the coast clear for its avowed enemies. An old FRELIMO militant I spoke to rejected any such "technocratic analysis" and claimed that they "had pulled through the worst of it." But, he added: "It is not our vocation to run the capitalist system in Mozambique. The deterioration in people's living standards at the beginning of the fighting did not keep liberated areas from getting bigger and bigger."

But the crisis has not yet reached its peak. Portuguese whose contracts have expired are still leaving the country, and the closing of the border with Rhodesia is only now beginning to have an effect. When Salisbury proclaimed unilateral independence in 1965, Rhodesian troops began to help the Portuguese army in northern Mozambique. FRELIMO has therefore been on a virtual war footing with Ian Smith's regime for over 10 years. The movement would have gone against all its declarations before international bodies if it had continued to let 60 percent of its neighbor's exports go through the Mozambican port of Beira. On March 3, 1976, FRELIMO felt strong enough to close the border with Rhodesia and confiscate all Rhodesian property in Mozambique.

The UN mission that visited Mozambique in April estimated the losses caused by the border closure at $100 million: not only did revenue from the transport, tourism, and Mozambican workers' wages in Rhodesia dry up, but the country also had to pay for new lines of communication avoiding Rhodesia

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and provide employment for those who lost their jobs when relations with Salisbury were broken off.

In 1973 Pretoria took over from Lisbon as Mozambique's chief trading partner. Despite draconian import restrictions, plummeting exports, and a 50 percent drop in commercial activity in the port of Maputo (80 percent of which involves South Africa), the Mozambican economy is still heavily dependent on its powerful neighbor. Sixty percent of the wages of the 150,000 Mozambican workers who go down South African mines is sent directly to the Maputo treasury in the form of gold calculated at the official rate of $42 an ounce, but subsequently sold on the open market. South Africa therefore provides Mozambique with its chief source of foreign currency.

Many observers believe that Pretoria is waiting for the Mozambican economy to collapse before stepping in to wipe out FRELIMO. But South Africa's ports are full of Mozambican goods; it needs electricity from the Cabora-Bassa dam, and it relies on Mozambican migrant workers (who make it possible to keep miners' wages at a low level). So it is in Pretoria's interest to remain on good terms with its neighbor.

FRELIMO has no illusions about the strength of its ties with South Africa: the revolution the Mozambicans are pursuing so close to South Africa's vital economic centers marks them out as the main enemy of "white power" in that part of the world. The bases and training camps of the United People's Army, whose aim it is to liberate Rhodesian blacks from a minority regime, are scattered along the hundreds of kilometers of border that separate Mozambique from the former British colony. There, the remaining armed forces of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union are licking their wounds after years of fratricidal fighting; they have now pooled their resources and are taking the war into the heart of Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia).

Their army is commanded by 18 leaders whose names are kept secret. The "historical" figureheads of Rhodesian nationalism—Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaninge Sithole and James Chikerema—are not even allowed into the camps. "They represent only themselves," according to Mozam-

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bican President Samora Machel who, like the leaders of Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana, now believes that Rhodesia, can be freed only by force of arms. He is even on record as having said: "Bloodshed purifies the revolutionary line. The longer the fighting lasts the better."

In order to reduce the direct threat from the racist regimes, Mozambique is painstakingly building up the best possible relationship with its northern neighbors. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who has always been sympathetic to FRELIMO, has paid a triumphal visit to Maputo, as has President Kenneth Kaunda, in spite of Zambia's close ties with South Africa. FRELIMO is convinced that Kaunda's task should not be made any more difficult than it is, for if he were ousted Lusaka would veer to the right and accentuate Mozambique's isolation.

Maputo is keen to remain on good terms with both the Socialist bloc and the Republic of China. Technicians from China, North Korea, East Germany, and Bulgaria have recently arrived in Mozambique. The new state wants to diversify its trading partners, and does not reject out of hand eventual cooperation with the Western powers, even those closely involved with Portuguese colonialism. Its foreign policy is based on "active nonalignment," which, it is hoped, will eliminate the country's dependence on South African and Western markets while preventing it from being drawn into the orbit of other powers.

The threat posed to the revolution by "economic neocolonialism" is thought in Maputo to be more serious and more insidious than any hypothetical military intervention. FRELIMO wants to avoid entering into commitments involving technical or financial arrangements not entirely under its own control, which, it feels, would compromise its independence. In private, the movement's leaders are fierce critics of Third World countries which have allowed themselves to be burdened down with an ever-increasing foreign debt.

In FRELIMO's view, the main enemy of the revolution is not imperialism but the "internal reaction" of elements hoping to form a "new bourgeoisie." The departure of the Portuguese whetted the appetites of all those with ambitions to step into the former colonialists' shoes. This danger is all the greater

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because the majority of the population, now that it has had the dust wiped from its eyes, finds its enthusiasm waning. The party's popularity is still enormous, but the new options it is offering the country have little wholehearted support. Many Mozambicans are happy for the moment to stand back and see whether the results of FRELIMO's experiments will live up to expectations.

The first thing the movement must do is make good its claims to be able to hoist Mozambique out of its present state of underdevelopment. But even if it succeeds in doing that, the revolution will not necessarily be on *terra firma*: FRELIMO fears that a new bourgeoisie will take over, and that the influence of the Western powers will again become predominant. It therefore feels that the price to be paid for securing and preserving national independence can only be "permanent revolution."

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IN MEMORIAM: ORLANDO LETELIER AND RONNI KARPEN MOFFITT

BY MICHAEL MOFFITT

Michael Moffitt gave the following address at a funeral mass for Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, held at St. Mark's Cathedral, Washington, D.C. on September 26, 1976.—THE EDITORS

As you can imagine, it seems more than a little strange being here today. I will not say that I am lucky to be here, but in any case I am. I am also not very good at this sort of thing, so I'll try to be as brief as possible.

Some of you might be aware of the fact that this coming Sunday Ronni and I would have been married four months. As we were preparing our wedding ceremony with the assistance of Rabbi Harold White, my wife, being the more creative of the two of us, composed her own words to express how she felt about me. I took the easier route, relying instead on the words of a great Chilean:

"Stand up with me. / No one would like / More than I to stay / On the pillow where your eyelids / Try to shut out the world for me. There too I would like to let my blood sleep / Surrounding your sweetness. / But stand up, / You, stand up! / But stand up with me / And let's go off together / To fight face to face / Against the devil's webs, against the system that distributes hunger, / Against organized misery. Let's go. / And you my star, next to me, / Newborn from my own clay, / You will have found the hidden spring, /And in the midst of the

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fire you will be / Next to me, / With your wild eyes, / Raising my flag."

For those of you who do not recognize them, those are the words of Pablo Neruda.

If there is a lesson to be learned from the murders of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt by the agents and henchmen of the brutal regime which rules the Republic of Chile, it is the following: none of us, to use Neruda's phrase, can "stay on the pillow" and shut our eyes to the realities of this world. For even if some of us remain unscathed by this kind of brutality for a time, reality inevitably intervenes in our lives when we do not expect it. None of us can profess solidarity with the oppressed majority of the human race without eventually experiencing their suffering first-hand.

There were, in a sense, two very different kinds of people in that car on September 21. Orlando Letelier was known the world over as a close associate of the late President Salvador Allende. He has been eloquently described by his friend Peter Weiss as "a freckle-faced redhead, a lawyer, a first-rate economist, a lusty singer of folk songs, and a born diplomat." And, he concluded: "Like most sensible people, Orlando Letelier was a socialist."

Ronni, on the other hand, has been described as a "doer of little things." As Marcus Raskin put it: "She knew that without little things, big things could never happen. But she also knew that without big things, little things can be meaningless." One of the "little things" my wife Ronni did was to organize with others a community music center in a low-income black and Spanish-speaking neighborhood in Washington, D.C. The "Music Carry-Out" provided the community with good music at no cost and hoped to gather enough funds to begin a program of children's music lessons to compensate for the inadequate program of the District of Columbia schools.

Though it is difficult for me to find any consolation whatsoever in the loss of Ronni, I can take some pride in the fact that she joins a long list of fallen American heroes. They are the kind of heroes you don't hear much about in a bicentennial year. Ronni joins the heroes who organized the first trade unions

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in the United States. Their fate was similar, more often than not being gunned down by private police forces or troops of federal and state governments. Ronni joins the heroes who were murdered on highways in Mississippi and Alabama in recent times. Black and white, they were killed because they were fighting for the civil rights of black people in the South. She joins the millions, Jews and Gentiles alike, who died resisting the Nazi war machine. She joins the heroic people who today are organizing farm workers in the fields of California, and who are fought every step of the way by professional thugs employed by corrupt unions and the agricultural industry. Finally, she joins literally hundreds of thousands of Chileans who have seen their lives and hopes—in some cases their limbs, tongues, and genitals—severed by the regime of organized terrorism now in power in Santiago.

Ronni and Orlando thus join these countless numbers of heroes who died resisting oppression and injustice. The only possible tribute to their sacrifice is to intensify our own efforts to raise public awareness of the monstrous character of the Chilean military junta, those who collaborate with them, aid them, and support others like it—from Argentina, to Iran, to South Korea. As Orlando often used to say, what the junta is trying to exterminate is not so much individuals as ideas. But if the junta and its henchmen think that by this act of terror they have silenced the voice that speaks for free Chile, they are very much mistaken. For they have not silenced the voice of socialist Chile but multiplied it a hundredfold.

Protect your light, my country! Hold high your strong stalk of hope in the midst of the blind and fearful air.

—Neruda

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BOOKS

A CLASS ANALYSIS OF THE UNIVERSITIES

By Bruce T. Williams and Michael Yates

Who Rules the Universities?—An Essay in Class Analysis, by David N. Smith. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974, $7.95; paperback $4.50.

In *Who Rules the Universities?,* David N. Smith subjects to Marxist analysis an institution, the university, which he considers to be increasingly important for the maintenance of capitalist domination. He formulates and then attempts to prove two hypotheses:

(1) Capitalists have, at least since the first decade of this century, consciously attempted to control U.S. universities, and they have largely succeeded.

(2) Since the Second World War, the universities have undergone a transformation, paralleling a transformation in the nature of American capitalism.

Smith utilizes what we might call the "class composition" method in proving that capitalists rule the universities. He investigates the class background of those who control the schools, i.e., the boards of trustees. Of course, merely showing that most board members are capitalists or their representatives does not prove that trustees operate the universities in their own interest. To prove this we must observe the actions of the universities and show that these

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serve the interests of the capitalists. This Smith tries to do in the second part of the book, by juxtaposing the transformation of American capitalism and the transformation of the universities, and by suggesting that the similarity of these changes cannot be coincidental.

Smith reveals that boards of trustees are composed overwhelmingly of corporate capitalists and their hirelings. While he personally investigated only the University of California, he relies as well upon several earlier studies of other colleges and universities. Although the evidence from these studies is fairly convincing, Smith would have have done well to do further research or to present the reader with more background on the methodologies employed by previous scholars.

A more fundamental criticism concerns the "separation of 'ownership' and 'control' " within the universities. Though trustees have the authority to control the schools, it is not clear whether they use this authority. Sociologists like Seymour M. Lipset have argued that power has shifted from trustees to faculties, which now initiate and administer most academic policies and programs. Smith tries to refute this argument, but his refutation is incomplete. He correctly points out that trustees tolerate faculty senates, but trustees are not legally obligated to carry out senate wishes and have refused to do so on numerous occasions. However, Smith does not analyze the roles of school managers, such as chancellors, provosts, presidents, and deans. In many universities and colleges, these people make important decisions without consulting the trustees. The question of the class composition of this segment of the university should be asked if the analysis is to be complete.

It is possible to grant some truth to the claims of Lipset and company without damaging Smith's argument. These sociologists are professors in elite universities, and they do wield considerable power and influence. But, in whose interest do they act? Could we not argue that these professors are, for the most part, supporters of the system (its ideologists), if not themselves members of the ruling class?

Smith devotes the second half of his book to a study of the connections between the changes which have occurred in American capitalism and those which have occurred in the universities. The establishment of such connections strengthens his argument that capitalists rule the universities. In addition, his unraveling of these connections reveals several contradictions which he claims are of great importance for class struggle.

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The transformation of American capitalism from competitive to monopoly to state-monopoly capitalism took place because of the class conflict which inhibited accumulation. How did this historical process affect the universities? As complex, large-scale enterprises were established, there arose a demand for highly trained labor to manage these enterprises as well as for technically and scientifically skilled labor which could continually improve the means of production. Capitalists began to discover that schools of higher education could be ideal breeding grounds for such labor; they could provide technical and ideological training, and the costs of this training would not have to be borne directly by the corporations.

Initially colleges sprang up helter-skelter, but as monopoly capital began to rationalize itself, so did the growth and development of the universities. This was achieved mainly by "attaching strings" to the money allocated by the educational foundations established by Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford. Schools had to conform to the standards set by these foundations or face possible extinction or mediocrity. Smith details how the foundations destroyed the existing classical tradition of higher education, replacing it with a more pragmatic, narrowly scientific rationale. As the universities were incorporated into monopoly capitalism, they came to resemble business firms in their organizational structure. This, in turn, made it easier for the schools to serve their new purposes.

This first transformation in higher education was followed by a second, more profound transformation during the years following the Second World War. The major forces that gave rise to this second transformation were, according to Smith, the revolution in the means of production brought about by automation and computer technology and the expanded and more integral role which monopoly capital demanded of the state. The former was necessitated by the desire of capitalists to reduce their reliance upon labor, while the latter reflected the ruling class's fear of another Great Depression and its awareness of American capitalism's new role as the primary supporter of international capitalism.

The postwar technological revolutions made much traditional blue-collar labor redundant. This meant that the children of blue-collar workers could no longer be absorbed in automobile factories, steel mills, etc. But at the same time, new types of jobs—technicians, professionals, programmers—were being created by changing technology. Part of the displaced labor could, then, be absorbed by

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the private sector, although it would require specialized training. The remaining surplus labor could be absorbed by the state, directly and through state subsidization of private capital. Much of this state-absorbed labor, involving white-collar work, would also require training.

Where would this training occur? The universities were logical choices; the secondary schools were already overburdened, and the status of a college degree would appeal to working-class students as a ticket into "middle class" affluence. However, if the universities were to absorb large numbers of working-class youth, their nature would have to change dramatically. First, there would have to be more colleges than could be financed by private capital alone. Therefore, the state would have to finance a large part of this expansion.

Second, opening up the universities to the working class implied a shift away from liberal arts education toward an emphasis on engineering and management training. Working-class youth have been encouraged to view college as a dispenser of those skills necessary for success in an increasingly complex technological society. The programs which would best train people to "fit into" this society, both in the sense of possessing the skills which the corporations needed and in being well adjusted to its class structure, were precisely programs which stressed "technique" rather than philosophical inquiry.

A situation thus appears to exist in which capitalists can have their cake and eat it too. Universities, for which they bear a relatively small financial burden, provide them with conditioned workers, trained to do technical work and unwilling and hopefully unable to challenge corporate hegemony. But, Smith argues, things are not as promising as they seem to be, as the student rebellions of the 1960s made clear. The causes of these revolts lie in the contradictions implicit in the new university model. A college education holds out the promise of liberation from the working class, a promise which cannot be fulfilled. To be liberated means to be in control of one's life, and colleges cannot really help people to gain such control. In fact, they have been structured in such a way as to convince students that they are always likely to work for others and to be part of a hierarchy.

Smith believes that the discrepancy between the promises made by higher education and the realities of student undergraduate and graduate life give rise to tensions which will lead to class consciousness among students and graduates. The tensions begin

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within the universities which, with their emphasis upon competition and their hierarchical structure, are much like any capitalist places of work. Life in a university, therefore, generates feelings of powerlessness and alienation among students.

Students do have some freedoms while in college, but these disappear when they leave school and begin to work. It turns out that most of the available jobs are just as unfulfilling as those of their parents and often require only a fraction of the knowledge acquired in school. The attempt to compensate for job deficiencies by engaging in orgies of consumption offers only temporary satisfaction because mere consumption cannot end alienation, but rather makes it worse. When educated workers perceive this, they might respond with cynicism and apathy, but Smith believes that their superior comprehension of reality, formed in spite of the universities' attempts to prevent it, will force them to act. They have already begun to form unions; but, given the nature of unions in the United States, this will be insufficient. To become liberated, they will have to turn toward some form of workers' control at the workplace and toward socialism in the political arena.

Although Smith has correctly shown that higher education has been almost completely integrated into the productive relations of monopoly capitalism, we feel that there are several shortcomings in his analysis. Specifically, we have three criticisms:

(1) The roles teachers play in the transformation of the universities and in the development of student/worker class consciousness are neglected. It is true that the actions of many teachers help to reinforce capitalist power, but it is also true that many teachers are now part of the working class and are aware of it. Many teachers are about as powerless as are students and white-collar workers. This is especially true in small state colleges and in the junior and community colleges which have proliferated recently. In response to their objective work experiences, teachers have been joining unions in record numbers. Might it be possible that teachers and their unions will develop a radical consciousness and perhaps join with students and others to reconstruct the schools? It is legitimate to be skeptical about such a possibility, but it does deserve some attention. After all, teachers are among the most highly educated members of the working class and their potential influence upon students is enormous.

(2) Smith's conclusion about the evolution of white-collar class consciousness is too optimistic because it does not take into account the ruling-class response to it. For example, one purpose of the

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skill-oriented programs being promoted in most junior and community colleges and in many four-year colleges is to lower the expectations of students and mold their consciousness in such a way that they do not feel cheated when they join the labor force. A prolonged depression might further lower expectations and make students more willing to accept menial work. Finally, self-blame for failure is still a reality in the United States, and it is not possible to tell at this time whether educated workers will turn inward and blame themselves, or outward and take action to relieve the frustrations which confront them.

(3) Smith's analysis, while offering many insights, is too simplistic, for he often makes it seem that the transformation of American capitalism and the schools has occurred primarily as a result of technological developments and capitalist decree. What happened to the struggles of the working class itself? It is plausible to view working-class access to higher education as, at least partially, the consequence of working-class struggle and therefore as a working-class victory. This may explain the hostility which many working-class people felt toward those often "middle class" radicals who attacked the universities in the sixties. Viewing access to colleges as a working-class victory suggests that it might be fruitful to concentrate on how this victory has been betrayed and how it can be restored.

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THE WEALTH OF THE CHURCHES

By Sue Middleton

The Religious Empire, by Martin A. Larson and C. Stanley Lowell. Washington and New York: Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1976, $10. Paperback: Americans United Research Foundation, 900 Silver Spring Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20910, $5.

> The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on 1/39 of its income.
>
> — Karl Marx, Preface to first edition of *Capital*, volume 1.

After reading *The Religious Empire* I concluded that millions of middle-income Americans simply do not realize the inequity in our tax structure resulting from the exemptions given to churches; and that before any serious reforms can be made, they must become familiar with the riches, revenues, and immunities of churches, explained in this unique volume.

Part One begins by describing the expropriation of lands over the centuries in Europe and elsewhere from too much church power. The specific sections of the Internal Revenue Code which apply to the clergy are then listed and explained, especially the fact that churches are not subject to audit, nor to disclosure of their assets. The authors indicate that Protestant denominations do issue financial reports. The wealthy Mormon Church, however, operates in total secrecy; and the Roman Catholic Church makes only sketchy and inadequate reports of its finances.

Part Two analyzes the tax-exempt property of the principal religious divisions in fourteen American cities. Figures embrace

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Sue Middleton, humanist and long-time advocate-fighter for the separation of church and state, has reviewed several books on this vital issue.

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rectories, monasteries, synagogues, convents, hospitals, schools, colleges and many other types of real estate—*all tax-free.* At the end of Part Two, as well as at the close of the book, there are tables showing the use of tax-exempt property, the racial and religious composition of the cities, the development of the Catholic Church in the United States, assessments on and the expansion of tax-exempt religious property, especially from 1964 to 1974-1975.

Part Three is the most eye-opening section of *The Religious Empire,* for it brings into sharp focus the material of Part Two. This section covers the tax-exempt income of religious organizations from the Sunday collection plate, which runs into millions; wills and bequests; bingo games; hospitals; investments and businesses; the ubiquitous housing projects (now estimated at 5,000); publishing houses; life insurance; liquor sales; dairy farms; TV and radio stations; and the financial advantages through the free labor of Catholic religious orders (numbering 414 for women and 125 for men). Other sources of revenue are stock investments and government subsidies from such programs as the Hill-Burton Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Higher Education Facilities Act—all resulting in billions of dollars for the churches and their subsidiaries. There is much, much more: we particularly recommend to the attention of the reader chapter 21, "When Things Go Wrong."

The authors warn that as fewer wage earners pay more and more in taxes, and as the day approaches when half of American property will be exempt from taxation, serious trouble may be expected. This well-documented work, the result of eight years of research, is worth its price ten times over, since it contains information nowhere else available.

THE SPIRIT OF IMPERIALISM
(From a well-known Protestant hymn)

From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand,
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.

—Bishop Reginald Heber (1783-1826)

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CORRESPONDENCE

ON OLIVER COX

I

I noted with appreciation the article on Oliver Cox in the May issue. However, the bibliography is incomplete in at least one respect. Cox published a most controversial article, "Jewish Self-Interest in 'Black Pluralism,'" in *The Sociological Quarterly,* vol. 15, no. 2 (Spring 1974), pp. 183-198. This article also refers to another piece not listed in MR that Cox includes in his own bibliography, which I have not seen: "The Question of Pluralism," *Race,* vol. 12, no. 4 (1971), pp. 385-400.

A number of angry reactions to the first of Cox's articles mentioned above appeared in *The Sociological Quarterly,* vol. 16, no. 1 (Winter 1975), pp. 131-134, along with an editorial comment that explained and defended the publication of the article by emphasizing the continuity of Cox's theoretical concerns with the position of Negroes or blacks in American capitalist society and his questioning of the ideology of pluralism. The editorial comment also indicated that many more letters had been received. By this time, however, Oliver Cox had died and he could not reply, which he most certainly would have. It should also be noted that in addition to the customary article in the professional newsletter of the American Sociological Association, *Sociological Footnotes,* when a member who has made significant contributions dies, at least two other separate articles of remembrance emphasizing Cox's

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singular and somewhat isolated scholarship also appeared in a later issue.

I have also read with interest the useful review of David Harvey's book on urbanism, *Social Justice and the City.* But the reviewer is in error when he states: "In the study of urbanism there is apparently no Marxist analysis between Engels' studies of Manchester in the 1840s and Harvey's current book (Henri Lefebvre, the French sociologist, is the other contemporary scholar who is beginning to fill this gap)." This ignores the by-now voluminous publications of Manuel Castells and his associates in Paris at the Centre D'Etudes des Mouvements Sociaux, which date from the mid-1960s (e.g., *La Question Urbaine,* Paris: Maspero, 1972, which has been published in Spanish in Argentina and has involved international comparisons of Europe and Latin America). An English translation of some of the work of the Castells group is being published in England this spring, at the same time as an original English Marxist sociologist's analysis of modern urbanism. While Gutenschwager is partially right in his comment concerning the American scene, his comments betray a lack of awareness of the French Marxist urban research tradition of Castells and his group. An extended review essay on Castells' book emphasizing its distinctive contribution as beginning a Marxist urban sociology appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 80 (Janary 1975), pp. 1003-1008.

May 1976

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P.S. Another Cox article came to light while I was looking up the pages for the Castells review: "The Problem of Societal Transition," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 79 (March 1974), pp. 1120-1133.

II

After reading Gordon D. Morgan's moving tribute to the late Oliver C. Cox (MR, May 1976), I feel it necessary to offer a word or two of clarification. Professor Morgan makes several statements concerning the Myrdal project, the relationship between Cox and other black sociologists, and Cox's impact on contemporary students of sociology that seem to be misleading or imprecise. First,

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Professor Morgan is incorrect when he says that "many of these scholars [Cox's contemporaries] got their first chance to establish themselves by contributing to the research on Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.*" All the black sociologists that Professor Morgan mentions, with the possible exception of St. Clair Drake, had done their major, and often most important, work before they ever heard of Gunnar Myrdal. Furthermore, of the sociologists mentioned, only Charles Johnson did any major work for Myrdal, and none of them made a significant impact on *An American Dilemma.* But let me be more specific: Charles S. Johnson left the University of Chicago in the early 1920s and by the advent of the Myrdal project had published *The Negro in Chicago* (1922), *The Negro in American Civilization* (1930), *Race Relations* (with W. D. Weatherford, 1934), *Shadow of the Plantation* (1934), *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (1935), *The Negro College Graduate* (1938), *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (1941), and two less important books. His memorandum for Myrdal was published, after heavy editing by Louis Wirth, as *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (1943). This was Johnson's last major sociological work. Johnson made his reputation before the publication of *An American Dilemma,* became president of Fisk University, and did little as a sociologist after that.

By 1940 E. Franklin Frazier had published *The Free Negro Family* (1932), *The Negro Family in Chicago* (1932), *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939), and *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (1940). When Myrdal began his study, Frazier was the undisputed leading student of the black family. Frazier, despite Park's influence, considered himself a radical and Marxist, and was active in the 1930s with a small group of black Marxist intellectuals at Howard University. Frazier served on the editorial board of *Science and Society* and wrote for *Race,* a short-lived independent Marxist journal. Myrdal was sufficiently leery of Frazier's politics that he assigned the family memorandum to a virtually unknown white woman sociologist, and asked Frazier to write on the trivial subjects: "Recreation and Amusements among American Negroes" and "Stories of Experiences with Whites." The substance of Frazier's lengthy critique of the first draft of *An America Dilemma* was ignored. Frazier went on to become the first black president of the American Sociological Society, largely due to the influence of Robert Park, and wrote two other major works. Frazier made his reputation before *An American Dilemma* and held it after its appearance.

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Horace Cayton had collaborated with George Mitchell on *Black Workers and the New Union* (1939), wrote nothing for Myrdal, and co-authored *Black Metropolis* (1945). St. Clair Drake had made a major contribution to Allison Davis and Burleigh and Mary Gardner's *Deep South* (1941), and gave Myrdal a memorandum on "Negro Churches and Associations in the Lower South." Drake established his sociological reputation as the senior author of *Black Metropolis*. Drake's subsequent career—political as well as academic—e.g., his teaching at Roosevelt University, his involvement in civil rights activities as early as 1940 and as late as the 1960s, his work with Nkrumah and other African political figures, etc., belies any notion of concessions to the sociological establishment.

A discussion of the life and works of W. E. B. DuBois obviously doesn't fit Morgan's views. *An American Dilemma* may have turned on that generation of Americans to the sociology of race in America, but blacks had done yeoman work in the field both before and after Myrdal. His influence on their careers had not been established.

I tend to agree with Morgan's, and Oliver Cox's, view of the theoretical shortcomings of most of the sociological writings on race relations and on the Afro-American experience. However, the issue of the prevalence of description over theory is a bit more complicated than the need to make one's work acceptable to foundations. It is my understanding that Cox was a man with a sense of humor and made such suggestions, often in the presence of his colleagues, in a tone far less serious than Professor Morgan implies.

In closing, I use *Caste, Class, and Race* in my undergraduate course on black sociological thought. Students grumble and moan about the size and density of the book, but generally are impressed by Cox's critiques of the ideas of other scholars. I suspect that Cox's influence is of this nature. I see little evidence that his alternatives and conclusions are accepted, or that his trilogy on capitalism is read at all. Cox deserves greater respect, and *all* of his works deserve close reading and re-reading. However, we can give Cox his place in the sun without eclipsing or diminishing the works of others who have won theirs.

July 1976

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO A BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM

BY PAUL M. SWEEZY

The following are notes written down in preparation for an interview on a radio program on the American Issues Radio Forum. The questions can be readily inferred from the answers. — P.M.S.

I must take a minute or two to explain the basic premises on which my remarks will be based. I am a Marxist, and I am firmly convinced that only Marxism allows us to understand the functioning of capitalist societies. The essence of capitalism, as explained in the short second part of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, is the accumulation of capital, which means continuous and perpetual expansion. To be healthy a capitalist enterprise must grow and grow and grow. The alternative is stagnation and eventual death. And individual enterprises can grow only if the economy as a whole grows. This process has been going on in the United States ever since the first Europeans set foot on these shores.

The mechanism of growth is that society's surplus product —what is left over after a conventional and always relatively low level of subsistence is provided to the actual worker-producers—is appropriated and controlled by a small class of owners, in our day corporations and their stock- and bond-holders. Out of this surplus the owning class consumes enough to live well and in many cases in great luxury, but it cannot begin to consume the whole surplus, nor does it desire to do so. By far the larger part is accumulated, i.e., invested with a view

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to making profits and hence increasing the surplus still further in the future.

But this process can continue only so long as profitable markets grow in proportion to capital, and this is far from being guaranteed. If markets do not grow sufficiently, the result is an interruption of the process—crisis, depression, stagnation. It follows with iron logic that a high-priority preoccupation of everyone in business and government is and must be the expansion of existing markets and the creation of new ones. And the means used, private and governmental alike, will be the most varied, the most ingenious and, if need be, the most violent and ruthless imaginable. The list would be endless. I will mention only a few of the most important and commonly used: invention of new or seemingly new products, territorial expansion, penetration of rivals' markets, conquest of foreign peoples, credit creation and expansion, deficit financing, advertising, armaments and wars. But despite all these methods to create and expand markets, periodic breakdowns of the accumulation process have occurred since the earliest days of capitalism and, as everyone now knows, continue to occur every few years. Right now we are in the worst period of stagnation since the Great Depression of the 1930s, with no signs of an early return to anything remotely approaching prosperity.

Against this background, the answers to the questions posed can be stated briefly:

(1) American capitalism in its roughly three centuries of existence has expanded enormously, has greatly increased the productivity of human labor, and has raised the per capita consumption of goods and services several-fold. The cost of these achievements, however, has been formidable. The system has exploited and often violently repressed not only its own work force (slave and free) but also vast numbers of people around the world whose economies and societies have been subordinated to the needs of American capitalism. The increased productivity of labor has been at the expense of dehumanizing the work process which absorbs the best part of the lives of most people. And in the long run perhaps the

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greatest, and ultimately fatal, flaw in capitalism is that an infinitely expanding system in a finite environment is a living contradiction, a time bomb bound sooner or later to explode with shattering and death-dealing ecological consequences. From the beginning, capitalism has always recklessly polluted and destroyed its environment, but until recently this did not seem to matter too much. Now, however, the signs of overstrain are everywhere visible, and it is getting to be a commonplace that economic growth in the developed countries, and especially the United States, must be brought under control and decisively checked in the historically near future. What is unfortunately not so widely understood is that this implies the end of capitalism and its replacement by a planned system of production for use, rather than a market system of production for profit.

(2) As my introductory remarks indicated, there most certainly is an inherent instability in the capitalist system.

(3) I suggest that there are two basic aspects to any meaningful concept of "equity." The first is that everyone without exception should have a sufficiency of the things needed to live a decent life: employment at useful work in humane conditions, adequate housing, a healthy diet, good health care, security for the young, the old, and the infirm. The second is that inequalities in the provision of these necessities should be both small and declining over time. Judged by these criteria the American economy has obviously failed miserably in terms of equity.

(4) The fact that income in the United States is distributed extremely unequally—that there is a small stratum of super-rich millionaires at the top and literally tens of millions of poverty-stricken at the bottom is sufficient proof that some groups have profited inordinately while others have suffered because of the character and development of the American economic system. But it is necessary to add that in a society of exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, everyone whether rich or poor suffers from the alienation and dehumanization which are inherent in such a society.

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FAREWELL TO A BICENTENNIAL

BY MARGE PIERCY

I cannot worship ancestors.
All the tall ruffled ghosts
kept servants who pressed those linen shirts,
who murmur still in the carved and fitted stone
the life that was stolen from them.

In each cut diamond is hardened the anguish
carbonized of choking miners.
Each ruby bleeds the buried cries
of women who bloated with hunger after they harvested.
Each opal secretes the milky grief
of babies bombed sedately by computer
or spitted on bayonets in the Indian wars.

The gentry dance at the Diamond Ball at the Plaza
charitably, on behalf of third world education.
In the gutter the dead leaves scuttle,
the hungry rustle on the wind blowing
up from Bolivia, which the oil men own.

Always in the tidy fiefdoms of history taught
Louis on the guillotine is weighed in chapters
while fifty thousand peasants who starved
are penned in a textual note.

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My folks were serfs, miners, factory women.
Their bent shoulders never bore the brocades in those cases.
They did not embroider the gossip at Versailles.
They were not invited to hunt with the czarina.

How can I love Mount Vernon
with its green alleys and its river perspective
and its slave quarters?
When the ghosts of Susan B. Anthony and Mother Jones,
of Harriet Tubman and Tecumseh and August Spies
dance on our small smokes as we picnic on the lawn,
we will preserve the slave quarters tenderly
because there are no more ghettos, no wage-slaves
and no soft domestic slavery bounded by rape.

The past leads to us if we force it to.
Otherwise it contains us
in its asylum with no gates.
We make history or it
makes us.

Marge Piercy is the author of *Woman on the Edge of Time* and other novels, as well as of *Breaking Camp* and other books of poetry.

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(*Continued from inside front cover*)

We asked Sybil May who has been managing the affairs of MR Associates from the beginning (in 1951) for a report on the results of this year's Associates appeal letter which went out to subscribers in September. Here, somewhat abridged, is her response:

"September 1975 was the biggest month, both as to total amount of contributions and as to number of members joining, that MRA has ever had. There was a 71 percent increase in contributions over the year before (not including Special Contributions), due partly to an increase in the minimum from $25 to $30 and to a 60 percent increase in membership.

"The results this year, i.e., September 1976, were disappointing. In the first 12 days after responses to the appeal had begun to come in, we were down 25.8 percent in receipts compared to the first 12 days last year; and we were down 20 percent in members.

"But October was a different story. We gained 11 percent in contributions and 23 percent in members over 1975. And November thus far (six mail days, through November 9th) has been even better, with gains of 49 percent in contributions and 32 percent in members over the comparable period last year."

To sum up: MRA was off to an unusually slow start this year but has been catching up since the first few weeks. We have no explanation for this pattern and can only hope the reason is that an abnormally large number of you have simply delayed joining. To spur you on, we remind you that the minimum $30 membership fee means not only automatic renewal of your sub to MR when it expires but also a free copy of the English translation of Charles Bettelheim's new book *Class Struggles in the USSR, 1917-1923*, a 577-page volume with a list price of $18.95, and the privilege of buying all MR Press titles at 50 percent off list price.

It is some comfort to be able to report that the increase in MR's subscription price during the inflation of the 1970s, bad as it has been, is at least nowhere near as steep as that of most periodicals published in the United States. According to a survey in the August 1976 issue of *Library Journal* the price index for all U.S. periodicals, with 1967-69 = 100, rose to 260 in 1976, i.e., an increase of 160 percent. During the same period MR's price rose from an average of $6.55 in 1967-69 to $11 in 1976 which would make the corresponding indexes 100 and 168, or an increase of 68 percent. In other words, the percentage increase in the price of all periodicals was nearly two and a half times the percentage increase in MR's price. It is one respect in which we are glad to lag behind.

To carry on the work of our friends Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, who were assassinated in September by the agents of the Chilean military junta, the Institute for Policy Studies, where they were working, has established a Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund for Human Rights. The fund will concentrate on securing the release of comrades now detained in foreign prisons, raising public awareness in the United States concerning the role of American imperialism in the world-wide suppression of human rights, and encouraging theoretical investigation of the growth of authoritarian and fascist regimes in the Third World. MR readers who wish to contribute to this effort should make checks payable to the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund, c/o Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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